113, 252, 291, 311, 361, 411, 622 Miao AE5

[For information on the settlement patterns, material culture, social organization, and subsistence technics of the Hainan Miao, see 2: Wu AE2 Hainan, category 116, pp. 242-244.]

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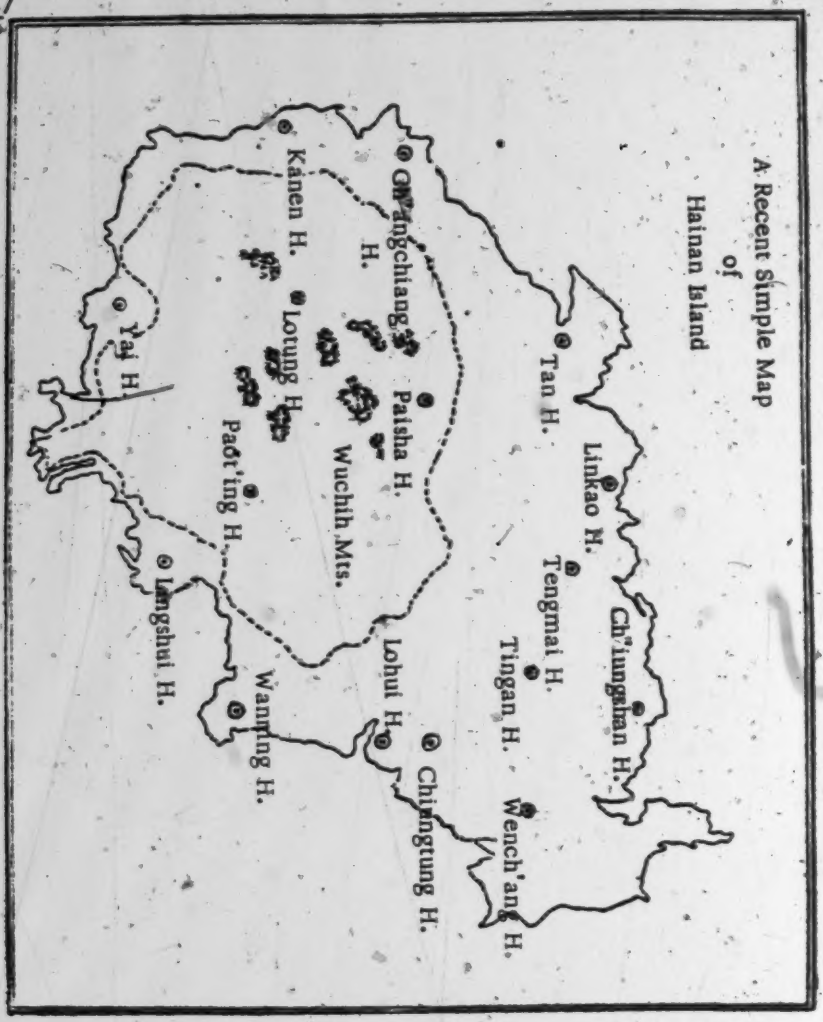

162 The space encircled by the broken line is the Li area where both the
53 Li and the Miao are intermingled, although the Miao people live in
361 the more remote area high in the mountains. The actual distribution of the Miao population in the three hsien (Pai-sha, Lo-tung, and Pao-t'ing) has not yet been investigated in detail, but its general distribution can be roughly estimated.

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	Miao Words of Yai district	Miao Words of Lin-kao district
one	ji	a
two	in	i
three	dam	to
four	se	ti
five	ngn	ta
six	luk	cho
ear		nann
eye		ngan
mouth		yup
nose		cham

/23/ Chapter III. Economic Conditions

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1. Geographic Environment and Economic Life

The essentials of man's economic life are always inevitably influenced by the geographic environment. This is particularly evident with the Miao. We have already learned that the Miao came to Hainan only in the Ming period. At the time of their arrival, the level areas along the coast were already completely occupied by the Chinese, and they were not able to get a foothold. Moreover, the hilly country in the interior was occupied by the Li, who also left no room for them. As a last resort, therefore, they were forced to live on the upper slopes of the great mountains in the center of Hainan where irrigated rice fields were very rare. This has greatly limited their agricultural development. However, the dense mountain forests are the habitat of birds and wild animals, and in this respect nature is bountiful to the Miao. Hence the Miao have

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/33 cont'd/
61 through frequent contacts and mutual interests. It is possible for this relationship to be even closer than that between those of the same surname who live far apart.

61 In summarizing, all subjective conditions necessary for the
121 development of the Miao kin group seem to have fully matured.
[[71]] Their social organization will change once their economic life takes on a new direction. As far as this point is concerned, Miao society seems more advanced than Li society.

3. The Village

621 There is usually a village on every hill. The village is the most important center of the Miao social organization. It is not only a natural unit within certain geographic limits but also a community of common economic life. This point will be reserved for discussion in the next section. Now let us look at the external appearance of the village and its other aspects and activities.

[618 There are two kinds of villages: one is the village consisting
592] of two or more surnames; the other consists of only one. The former type forms the large majority. A large village usually consists of more than ten or more families; a small one consists of several
[361 families. Their houses are close to each other in a cluster. The
311] village is usually encircled by a wood or bamboo fence in which there is a gate, but there are also villages which are unenclosed,
622 without fence or gate. The cultivable mountain land is always outside the village; inside the village there are only a few vegetable gardens. The headman of the village today is called chia-ch'ang /"head of a chia, or 100 families"/ or pao-ch'ang /"head of a pao, or 10 chia"/; (for detailed information consult the author's previous work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island). Before the pao-chia system was put into practice in the Miao and Li region by the government, the headman of a village, it is said, was called shan-chia /"mountain chief"/. /34/ This position was usually filled by an older man elected by the villagers. The qualifications for this position were ability to read Chinese, knowledge, experience, and Taoist persuasion. It is not definitely established

/130 cont'd/

Second month, twenty-first day. (Sunday)

124 At eleven o'clock in the morning we left for Wen-hua market. We had previously asked Mr. Li Hsi-ch'ing to get some of the Miao and Li of the vicinity to come here to meet us. Soon we saw the Miao headman /chia ch'ang/ of Pao-ch'a village, Wang Fu-shou arriving with a group of over 20 Miao men and women. But only a 126 few Li people came. Mr. Yang Ch'eng-chih immediately began the task of taking physical measurements of the people there, photographing them, etc. The Miao struck me as a group of very likable people. We invited them to a feast at Mr. Li's store and presented them with some small gifts. Mr. Li's wife, a Li, was visibly displeased upon 648 seeing our bestowal of favor on the Miao. I was really puzzled by this, but later upon study I began to understand the complex relationship between these two groups, which can only be grasped by someone who has actually lived among them.

181 As we were returning from Wen-hua, three or four Miao men followed us closely. They complained to us about the harships of their lives and earnestly begged us to take them along for schooling. Their desire for knowledge and education was so sincere and pressing that it amazed me greatly. This indicated the deep-hearted cry of the minority groups to which we sincerely hope the government will give special attention.

Second month, twenty-second day. (Monday)

487 Ten o'clock in the morning, we started off for a visit to the Miao 361 village of Pao-ch'a under the guidance of the Miao headman, Wang Fu-shou. The Miao live in the high mountains, /131/ and the path to the village was unusually winding and rugged. On the way we learned from Headman Wang that Headman Lu of Ang-chi village had a large collection of written records of the Miao. We were much excited and decided to head directly for that village first. Upon our 123 arrival the villagers appeared very much disturbed, being taken aback by the unexpected presence of strangers. I hurried immediately to find Headman Lu and explained to him the reason for our abrupt arrival. This allayed their suspicion.

/136 cont'd/

361 At eleven o'clock after the banquet, we were taken by the Miao to visit a neighboring Miao village. In about one hour we reached the Chih-pao upper village, where there lived six or seven families with a total population of around 30 or 40, named Li, Shih, P'an, etc. We then went to the middle village, where two brothers of the Lin family, whose acquaintance we had made during the tso-chai service, greeted us and welcomed us to their home. In the village 164 we encountered an old woman, afflicted with an infection of the eyes. She had lost the sight of her left eye, and the right eye also was in critical condition. She begged us to cure her. Although we knew that it was a hopeless case, we did not want to disappoint her too much: we had to excuse ourselves by saying that we had not brought the medicine along with us. She begged us again not to forget to bring the medicine during our next visit— a rather depressing sight!

008 We cooked chickens for supper and dined with Headman Lu. At night we talked with the villagers until ten o'clock.

Third month, second day. (Tuesday)

527 At dawn the sound of a drum reached us. Upon inquiry we were informed that the headman was beating the drum to gather the villagers for the service of chung jen chai. They said that such a service is held in Miao villages every year in the first and sixth months, to pray for a rich harvest and tranquility. Each service lasts from one to two days.

361 /137/ In the afternoon we visited Fan-man village, another Miao settlement. The whole village consisted of about eleven or twelve families and was located at the foot of the Chien-ling mountains. Backed by high mountains and with a stream running in front, 262 the scene was beautiful. Headman T'an Ch'i-ying, upon our arrival, 574 ordered a banquet of ducks. We could not resist his hospitality.

When we left, we presented him with a pair of scissors, a harmonica, [297] etc., as gifts. On our way back we saw two women up ahead, but 008 their large straw hats concealed their faces from us. The Miao who

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Third month, seventh day. (Sunday)

There was a dense fog this morning, and as we could not go out, I wrote several letters. As one of Mr. Wang's workmen intended to leave Oao-t'ing today, I gave him the letter to mail. Yüan-chiung's sickness was completely over by this time, and he had recovered his spirits. We roamed all day long in the neighboring Ch'i and Hsiao villages. In a number of places we saw Hsiao girls at work hulling rice, /140/ but, seeing the approach of strangers, they hid away immediately, so that we had no chance to take pictures of them.

In the afternoon a Chinese peddler came from Pao-t'ing with a load of black fish for sale. We bought two and a half catties for two hundred copper coins, and they made a rare dish in this deep mountain valley.

Third month, eighth day. (Monday)

This morning the fog was again dense till eight o'clock when the sun broke through. We walked leisurely to the lower Hsiao village on the other side. The village was occupied entirely by Hsiao, ten families in all, with three names, Li, Liu, and Huang. Headman /pao chang/ Li welcomed us warmly to his house, and we had a long, pleasant conversation together. When we were leaving, he sent his workmen to carry several catties of potatoes to be brought back with us. In return we gave him gifts of salt, kerosene, candles, etc.

In the afternoon we went to the upper Hsiao village to attend a Hsiao wedding. The bride was already thirty years old and had been married before to a Hsiao of Ta-pen village. When her husband died, she had brought her son and daughter back to live with her mother. Now she was to be married for the second time to a Hsiao of the same village. The bridegroom was of about the same age. At the ceremony the couple did not appear in any special apparel; they wore just plain clothes, a little cleaner than usual.

/141 cont'd/

585 be emptied, but luckily, a guest, seeing my predicament, came to
574 my rescue and persuaded the host to let me go. At this moment, I took the opportunity to flee from the house as if I were being released from jail. A few steps outside the village gate, we saw a Hsiao lying at the side of the road, dead drunk and snoring profusely, while another Hsiao, a little more sober, swaying back and forth, walked ahead of us, with a scythe still hanging at his side. Afraid that he might get fresh and start playing with his scythe, we followed him all the way at a reasonable distance. Before long he fell down and lay on the road, upon which sight, we felt much relieved and proceeded on our way. When we arrived at Wen-hua center, we lodged in the primary school there.

Third month, tenth day. (Wednesday)

586 In the morning we strolled to Mao-mien village. Two comely
582 Ch'i girls talked to me for a long time. The girls were not bad-looking, but they had both had an unfortunate fate. When they were small, their parents had given them in marriage to two elderly grey-haired men. When asked whether they were willing to live with their husbands to old age, one gave a resolute "No," and the other replied, "What can I do if I do not like it?" When asked again why they were not living with their husbands, they said that, according to Li custom, a girl, after marriage, /142/ still stays in her mother's home, and until she has found another man and borne a child from this illicit union, she would not go back to live with her husband. As she talked, her manner was natural and frank without a sign of bashfulness.

●361 We spent the day visiting four or five small villages in the vicinity, which were all occupied by Ch'i and Li with the surname Huang. The villages ranged from almost only ten or so families to scarcely three or four, and they looked unusually desolate. There were some sick persons in almost every village. There was an old
755 woman in Fan-san-pai village, dying whom her family asked us to cure. When we had no medicine for her, they looked rather

/25 cont./

*101 Vertical distribution. — What is called vertical distribution
131 refers to the complex topography of Yunnan and Indo-China,
133 for the most part consisting of precipitous mountains and deep
167 valleys and ravines. The peoples who come from various
361 directions are greatly limited by their past geographical environments and look for areas most suited to their needs. The Pai-i live at the bottom of deep valleys. The Lolo mountain dwellers dread and avoid the lowlands. Therefore, the vertical distribution of the southwestern peoples of the various provinces follow definite zones just like the life zones of plants. The old home of the Miao was in Kweichow, about 1,000 meters above sea level on the average. The better mountain slopes in the southwestern provinces were already selected by the various mountain-dwelling peoples who came earlier. The Miao, who came later, could only get to live on the mountain peaks. Therefore their vertical distribution is very high, and they become known as the "Kao Shan Miao /high-mountain Miao/."

/26/ CHAPTER THREE

THE HUMAN GEOGRAPHY OF THE MIAO FRONTIER COUNTRY

131 Location. — The sphere of the Miao frontier country, ac-
133 cording to the full map of the Miao frontier in Miao Fang-pei Lan /A Look at Miao Defenses/ by Yen Ju-yü published in the twenty-fifth year of the Chia Ching reign period (1820), is within the area bounded by the Yüan Chiang River in the west, the Yu Chiang River in the south, the Ch'en Chiang River in the north, and the Hunan-Kweichow boundary in the east (Illus. 1).[1] This area is bound by water on three sides in the north, east, and south, and screened by high mountains in the west, forming a natural area (Illus. 2).[2]

[1] [See cat. 116, pp 48a-d, - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p48e- "]

/26 cont./

133 Mountain ranges. — The most important mountain is the La-erh Shan. The section "Hsien Yao K'ao /Strategic Posts/" in Miao Fang-pei Lan says: "The Great La-erh Shan is situated 70 li to the west of the city (Feng-huang) and is more than ten li high. The mountain appears enormous, astride the two provinces of Hupeh and Kweichow. In the east Ya-yu, Hiang-shang /pronounced K'ang-shang in the north/, in the south Li-lin and Yu-ni, in the west K'ang-chin and Hsiu-nao, and in the north Hu-lu and Kan-tzu-yao, are all branches of this [361] mountain, spreading over an area of more than a hundred li, where there are many Miao villages. Hence, old chronicles ofter refer to the defeat of the Miao in Hupeh and Kweichow as being in the La-erh Shan." The La-erh Shan begins at Cheng-ta-ying, Kweichow, from where it extends irregularly to the middle of the Miao area, where a fault occurred, forming a plateau. This plateau is dotted with Miao villages, [361] whose inhabitants defend themselves by taking advantage of the [101] favorable terrain. It has always been known as the den of the Sheng Miao /"the uncivilized Miao," i.e. those who have not been brought under Chinese administration/.

Rivers. — The main courses of the Yüan, the Yu, and the Ch'en rivers flow only along the borders of the Miao frontier region. The most important rivers within this area are all tributaries of these three rivers, the largest of which is the Wu Ch'i, a tributary of the Yüan Chiang, and also known as the T'ung Ho. This branch extends deep into the Miao area and has three sources: the Wu-ch'ao Ho (Illus. 4)1 in the west, the Wan-yung Chiang in the middle, and the Kao-yen Ho (Illus. 5)2 in the north. The Wu-ch'ao Ho rises at Hsiao-t'ien-hsing-chai /village/ in Feng-huang, and flows westward to where the Niang-shui-t'o, and the Lung-chüeh-t'ung tributaries joint it. Further westward it passes Ta-hsin-chai and flows around Shang-hsia-yüan-hou-chai, veering southward to where the Ma-chung and the Hsiao-feng-huang-ying tributaries joint it from the east. It then flows southeastward, passing through Ma-ching-t'an and around Sheng-hua-shao to where the T'i

1,2 [sec cat. 116, p49 - ANALYST]

/29 cont./

133 reaches Yen-meng and Ch'e-t'ou where the Yu-lo Ch'i, the Huang-an Ch'i, and the T'un-szu Ch'i tributaries joint it from the west. Finally it flows past Shih-yang-shao and enters Ma-yang-chiai, and reaches Kao-ts'un, where it empties into the Ch'en Chiang River.

[131] Topography. (Illus. 2). — Topographically, the Miao area may be divided into two natural regions. The northwestern section can be called the La-erh plateau region; the southeastern section is the region where the rivers flow down. Although the plateau rises about 700 kung ch'ih above sea level, on it there are a great many small basins, with many springs and ponds [192] good for irrigation. The Miao call such small basins p'ing /a plain/, t'ang /a pond/, or ch'ung. The best known among these is the Pao-mu-ying-p'ing, about 70 li north /30/ of Feng-huang-ch'eng /city/. Surrounded by mountains, this level area measures five to six li in length and three to four li in width, [312] and has seven or eight spring-fed ponds, supplying ample drinking water. It is the largest basin on the plateau. Ya-pao-chai [433] (Illus. 7),[1] situated in the Ya-pao-shan mountains, about 93 li [241] north of Feng-huang-ch'eng, is very high and cold. It has several fish ponds and produces rough rice and yams. In 1795, [648] when the Miao revolted, the headman, Wu Lung-teng, whose family had lived there for generations, was entrenched there. The above two places are the largest among the basins on the plateau. There are countless small basins /p'ing and ch'ung/. [312] There are numerous wells and springs in the mountains, wells being found even on the peaks. The "Yao K'ao" section of the Miao Fang-pei Lan states: "Fifty li southwest outside the city is Ma-an Shan /"Horse Saddle Mountain"/, which is about eight or nine li in height, is very steep, and resembles a horse saddle in shape. On top of the mountain there is a well that never [312] goes dry. On the mountain there are pockets where there are irrigated rice fields. It is a strategic point for the uncivilized Miao to defend." The La-erh plateau is dotted with Miao [361] villages and settlements because of its level places /p'ing/ and wells and springs, and there the Miao people thrive.

1 [see cat. 114, p55 - ANALYST]

/30 cont./

131 line of demarcation between the two natural regions. So today
648 the actual area of the Miao is northwest of the boundary wall,
[161] limited to the La-erh plateau. Although the Miao area is not
[167] a barren wilderness, the area is small and densely populated, with a high birth rate leading to population pressure, which has led the Miao to invade the southeastern region. Therefore, whenever there is a Miao rebellion, the whole area /Illus. 7 on p. 31/ /32/ is occupied by them. The territorial limits designated by Yen Ju-yü as the Miao area is not entirely without reason. The Miao regard this area as their native land, and they seldom exceed its limits even in time of strife.

132 Climate.— Due to the lack of meteorological records the
[114] climate in the Miao area cannot be accurately described. The authors kept such records along the way during their travels, but they are the data of only a short period and do not represent the climatic conditions of the whole area. We observed that due to the difference in altitude the temperatures of two points within a short distance could be quite different. For instance, according to our record the temperature at Ya-pao-chai on June 10, 1933 at 1:00 P.M. registered 24.5° centigrade, but at So-li, Kan-ch'eng it registered 27° centigrade on June 13 at 1:00 P.M. Ya-pao-chai is situated on the plateau, 850
●[361] kung ch'ih above sea level, and therefore is cooler, whereas So-li in the region of downstream river valleys, only 270 kung ch'ih above sea level, is hotter and damper. Formerly,
[164] before the opening of the Miao area, it was a malaria region. On the plateau young rice plants for transplanting have grown only to a height of about one ch'ih by mid-June, whereas in the low river valleys it has already grown to two ch'ih, apparently on account of the different climates. Regarding the climate in the four seasons, the Miao Fang-pei Lan in the "Feng-su K'ao /Study of Customs/" section has this to say: "The climate of the four seasons within the Miao area is different from China Proper. Thick fog frequently enshrouds the place, clearing slightly at noon. When the fog is thick, men and animals cannot see each other even face to face, and it is difficult to move

Illus. 7. Ya-pao-chai in a small basin on the La-erh-shan plateau (855 kung ch'ih above sea level).

2:Ling & Ruey--55 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
/31/

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361

C 712 /35/ were built for defense. At such places as Huang-lo-chai and Shui-ta-t'ien in the sub-prefecture large paos were erected. In thinly populated and topographically restricted areas, t'uns were built, which communicated with each other for mutual defense. A t'un is built according to the requirements of the place, varying from several chang to more than ten chang in width, and from ten to 30 chang in length. The foundation of a t'un is laid with two or three ch'ih of rough stones, on which are added two layers of bricks about four or five ch'ih in height; and then the crenulated wall with apertures for observation and firing guns is put. Each t'un accommodates a few dozen men. Animals and grains are also sheltered in it. There C 36 712 are two kinds of paos, the stone and the earth paos. A small pao is oval in shape, a street runs through the center, bordered by residential dwellings, with two pao gates at the two ends of the street. A big pao is round in shape with three or four pao gates (Illus. 9), and the streets within are often in the shape of a cross.

C [342] Besides the paos and the t'uns in the Miao area there are many stone houses /tiao/. Formerly in the areas around these stone houses t'un soldiers were posted to keep watch. Today, such areas have become little settlements, as in Illus. 10. These are villages near the stone houses. The Chinese also settled at important communication points leading to bridges. C [491] [443] They even built houses on bridges, forming bridge streets, such as shown in Illus. 11. Some markets also have appeared at ferry points along the rivers. Chinese settlements are distributed mostly along communication lines and garrison points so that in case of alarm they can come to each other's aid.

M ● 36 [712] [363] The Miao settlement is called "chai" (Illus. 12, 13), built generally against a mountainside or along a river, without any uniform appearance. The chai wall is made of earth or stone slabs, and there is no definite number of gates. The streets of a chai zigzag up and down, with tiny alleys on both sides. In each alley there are a few families. The alleys are

Central China AF14

/35 cont./
M 361 [363] interconnected. Without a guide one can get lost once inside a chai; turning right and left, one will be unable to find an exit. Chinese passing through a Miao chai often cannot find a single Miao, because they have gone into hiding in small alleys, barring the doors and refusing to come out. The Miao chais are not located along lines of communication but in the deep M [487] mountains and valleys accessible only by small paths. Although visible at a distance, they often cannot be reached. Without modern arms, they cannot be easily taken. For the last few hundred years continuous Miao unrest in western Hunan may be largely related to the fact that their chais were easy to defend and difficult to capture.

M 342 C [343] Houses. — Chinese houses within the Miao area generally are built with walls of sun-dried brick, and roofs covered with tiles. The Miao house is slightly different from the Chinese house. Chinese houses are generally of the three-room type, but Miao houses may consist of one, two, three, four, or five rooms. Wealthy families generally build five-room, two-story houses, with brick walls and tile roofs. Ordinary houses have three rooms with walls made of brick, stone in pieces, or sun-dried brick, and a roof covered with tiles or sometimes slates, pine bark, or thatch. (Illus. 14).[1] Pine trees are abundant in M [137] the Miao area /Illus. 11, 12 on pp. 36, 37/ /38/ /Illus. 13 appears here/ and timber is relatively plentiful, hence moderately well-to-do families build two-story houses. Pine bark when pressed flat with stone slabs is used by poor families as a substitute for roof-tiles. Slates are abundant in the Miao frontier. The thicker ones are used for building walls and paving streets, the thin ones for roofing. The use of stone slates and bark for roofing is rarely seen in other parts, and it is a distinct feature of the Miao area.

The most common Miao house types are either the two-room type with three pillars and four frames or the three-room type with four pillars and four frames (Illus. 15).[2] In a three-M 353 778 177 room type house the middle room is the main room. On the rear wall is attached an ancestral tablet (in imitation of the

[text continues on p63]

1 [See Cat. 116, p64- ANALYST]
2 [" " , p65- "]

2:Ling & Ruey--62 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/37/

361

Illus. 12. Lao-tung, Feng-huang, that is, the Miao chai of Hsia-ma-tung.

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Illus. 13. A village along the bank of the T'ung Ho near Ta-lung-tung.

353
[778] Chinese) with the inscription, "Heaven, Earth, Sovereign, Rela-
[177] tives, Teacher." In the room on the right a wooden bed is placed
352 against the rear wall in a corner, /Illus. 14, page 40/ /41/ and
[231] covered with a black mosquito net. To the front beyond the bed
[354] are put farm implements, and further front is the cow stall. The
782 room on the left also has a bed in it in the rear and a fireplace
769 in the middle. Left of it under the wall pillar are generally
354 placed two small wine cups. This is the place for sacrificing
000 to the ancestors. To the front of the fireplace is the kitchen stove. Among the Miao there are five surnames:

3: Moninger E-6 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

[p. 40]

THE HAINANESE MIAO

(Miss) M. M. MONINGER

101 162 Far down in the mountainous interior of Hainan, principally in the districts of Loh-hoe and Deng-ang, several hundred Miao villages may be found. These Miao people, essentially a nomadic race, build their rude villages, live on the hillside a few years until the natural fertility of the soil seems to them to be exhausted, and then move to a virgin soil. Hainan's population embraces three great divisions—the Loi aborigines (several tribes of which have become much like the Chinese in everything except language), the Chinese and the Miao. The Chinese seem to be unable to distinguish between "wild" Loi and Miao, classing them all indiscriminately as Loi robbers, but they are very distinct peoples, each tribe having its own language and customs.

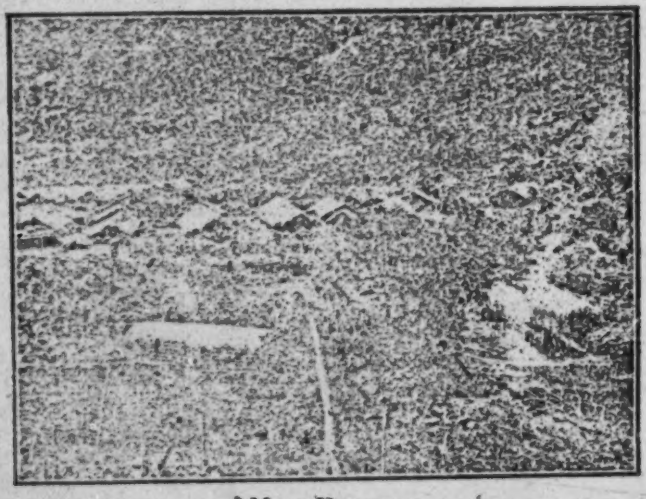
166 The Miao people are not native to Hainan. They themselves say that they came from Kwangsi five or six generations ago. They are practically all of one tribe, judging by the embroidered-head kerchief of the women, but a few villages of a different type are found in Deng-ang. We would be very glad indeed to get in touch with Miao people in other parts of China who speak the same dialect as our people, and if any readers of this article recognize from the following descriptions, Miao who are similar to the Hainanese Miao, correspondence would be welcomed.

121 114 It has been my privilege, at two different times, to spend periods of three weeks each, itinerating among these people, and to have seen a number of their villages, both heathen and Christian. Certain general characteristics are true of all their villages and a description of one would apply to all. Let me take as typical the village of Baéh-túi-vóe or White-water-tail.

361 This village is situated near a lovely rocky river, on a tiny hill rising from the stream. Whether you come to the village from the north or from the south, you must scramble down a narrow, precipitous foot-path from the top of a mountain to the village, your carriers balancing their loads as best they can, and your pony in infinite danger of falling

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

and breaking his legs. In reverse order, when you leave you toil up a hill. That is the plan of all the villages—built in a valley between high hills, and near a stream. Doubtless two factors cause this choice of location—one the need of water and one the protection from robbers that the inaccessible position affords.



MIAO VILLAGE.

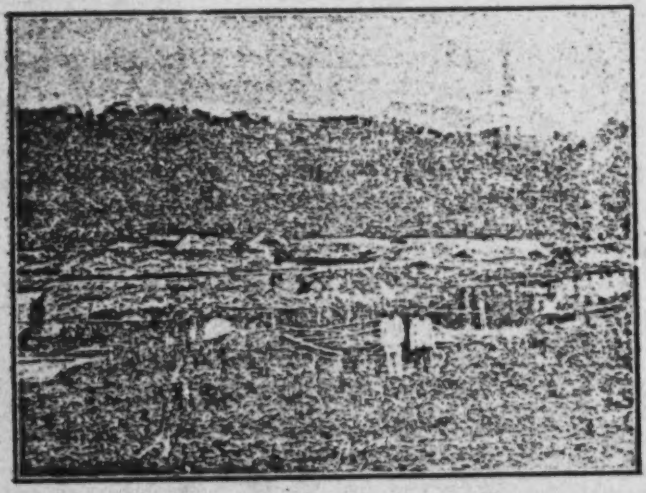
The villages vary in size from six or eight houses to forty or fifty. White-water-tail, an average sized village, has I think about twenty houses. The villages are loosely organized under two or three head men, one of whom looks after taxes or rents of fields if any have to be paid, and one of whom is charged with welcoming any guests and looking after any strangers who come. Hainanese trader, European explorer or Christian missionary, woe betide you if you do not go to this head man's house when you first arrive, otherwise you will find it impossible to obtain food and shelter in the village. These men seem to be chosen by common consent when a village is built and apparently hold office as long as the village remains in that location, barring unusual conditions. If new families join a village, it must be with the consent of both villages concerned.

When the site of a village has been selected, the houses are set down wherever the builder chooses to put them, so in very few villages are there anything like straight lanes between the houses. (Streets would be too much of a misnomer to use in this connection). As the houses are built, curving, twisting, snake-like paths develop between

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

361 house and house, village and stream, village and forest, and later between village and village. The villages being on the 342 sloping hillsides, the householder must first level off the 361 site he has chosen. This he does carefully, and the bank of earth twelve or eighteen inches high left at one side of the plot makes the protection for the back side of the house. A shallow trench is dug between this bank and the edge of the wall, and around the other three sides of the rectangular levelled place, to drain off the torrents of water that fall during the tropical storms.

361



MIAO VILLAGE.

342 Four strong poles, standing about six feet above the ground, are driven firmly into the earth at each corner of the house-to-be. Ordinary houses are about thirty feet long and ten feet wide. At the middle of the two ends higher poles, standing about ten feet above the ground, are put in, and two more of the same height in the centre of the building and on a line with them, to hold the ridge-pole. Smaller posts are planted at regular intervals along the longer sides, and heavy bamboo or light timbers laid upon them to form the rest of the skeleton of the house. Light bamboo poles are lashed to ridgepole and sidepoles to take the place of rafters, and the top of the house is ready for the roof. No nails are used in the structure. Fastenings are made by means of bamboo or rattan withes, tied securely in place.

Roofing is done with one of three different kinds of material. Sometimes the leaves of the fan palm are used, laid overlapping each other. This roof is very easy to mend.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

PREFACE

NOT all of the native inhabitants of China are Chinese. China, like other countries, has her minorities. Some of them are border folk, marginal members of ethnic groups which have their main centers of population elsewhere, such as the Mongols, the Tatars, the Lo-lo, and other Tibetan frontier people, and the Thai. Others are just as Chinese as the Chinese themselves in geography and in length of tenure. These are peoples who speak non-Chinese languages, live in separate villages, and whose customs differ perceptibly from those of the Chinese in the surrounding countryside. They are the survivors from the earlier periods of Chinese history, when the Chinese proper were only one of many peoples in what we now call China, destined to spread out from valley to valley, and along the coast, absorbing their neighbors and painting all with their linguistic and cultural brush.

Several millions of these other peoples still live in the southern provinces of China. They are the Tai, the Lo-lo, and the Miao. Like the Chinese peasants of southern China, all of these people are Iron-Age agriculturalists, growing rice and other grains, keeping a few pigs and cattle, living in villages of a few hundred persons, and trading their surplus agricultural products and handicraft products in the market towns for cutting tools and other manufactured objects. The general economic adjustment to the environment is the same for all of these peoples. The differences consist chiefly of language and minor social usages. A difference of another order, however, sharply divides the dominant from the minor peoples — the *hsien*[1] towns and the provincial cities are all chiefly inhabited and run by Chinese. Thus the Miao, Lo-lo, and Tai have no class of artisans and traders, no urban populations; they are practically all peasants. Being dependent on the Chinese for their manufactured products, their material culture shows few visible differences from the Chinese. A western traveler might easily

[1] A *hsien* is a district — a subdivision of a province, roughly comparable to our County

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?),1947 AE5 Miao AE5

General Description. Ting-shui-pa (see fig. 4) is a plateau divide about two miles long and half as wide, with mountains and hills surrounding it. Miss Li said that they told her they called the mountains to the north Cat and Phoenix Mountains, those to the west Elephant and Running Horse mountains, those to the south the Mountain of the Nobleman,

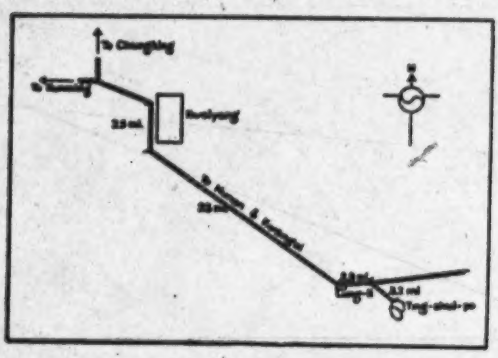


FIG. 3. Ting-shui-pa in relation to Kweiyang.

and those to the east the Mountain of the Pig's Mouth. Our first glimpse of the valley was from the wayside shrine at the top of a pass reached by a gradual, winding ascent from the motor road. About a mile from the pass the road led between high hedges which screened the village vegetable gardens and the large pond from the road. Beyond the pond lay the Cowrie Shell Miao village of Yang-chia-sai (Yang family stockade). The stone road went on. At the further edge of a wood it divided, one fork going straight on into the other part of the valley separated from this one by low hills and beyond to the south. The other ran between the other side of the wood on its left and a group of grave mounds on its right. These grave mounds and bamboo thickets separated the road from a meadow where buffalo bullfights were held. Yet a little way beyond the village another turn, to the

4-Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

right, brought one to a cluster of seven Chinese houses about the Huang family temple. Four-tenths of a mile beyond was a Chung-chia village. In the other part of the valley were smaller villages of Cowrie Shell Miao and Chung-chia and the home of the large, extended family of Chinese of whom the *lien pao* official was a member.

The rest of the valley, except for one deep cleft, was made up of knolls and depressions and given over to fields in which rice was the chief fall crop, with tobacco, chillies, beans, maize, and millet playing a minor role, and wheat, broad beans, peas, and rape were the spring ones. Vegetable gardens, in which were grown a continous succession of vegetables, occupied the lower slopes of the nearest hills. There were bamboo and nut trees in the wood and edible bamboo in the thickets about the village. A little stream ran through that part of the valley in which Yang-chia-sai lay and through the cleft mentioned above reached the end of the valley toward Lung-li, where it became a waterfall. A second stream watered the other part of the valley and flowed toward the south. From the springs and streams water was carried for household use. The presence of these sources of water and the pond gave the valley its name of Ting-shué-pa, meaning "divide where water is assured." The bamboo thickets and the wood furnished timber and faggots, both timber and bamboo being used for the construction of buildings and many articles of household and farm use. The mountains were a source of fuel in the form of faggots, grass, weeds, and fern. From them the women brought grass for raincapes and food for cattle at certain seasons of the year. At others the children took ponies, cattle, and water buffalo to the mountains for grazing. All those in the vicinity — Miao, Chung-chia, and Chinese — made use of springs and mountains, but the various groups kept fairly separate.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

THE VILLAGE OF YANG-CHIA-SAI

• 361 **Location and Layout.** Miss Li told me that the village was said to be "in the Dragon's Mouth." The large pond was to the west of the village. On the south were the wood, bamboo thickets, and the buffalo bull-fighting meadow (fig. 17, *a*). There were more bamboo thickets on the east. To the north was a rise of ground with rice fields between. Beyond the fields and thickets were fields and highways. They said that the fact that most of the houses of the village faced west was "good *feng shui*."[1] It was also good common sense, for the winds which brought inclement weather came from the northeast. One could enter the village by stone paths bordering the pond, through the wood, by a winding stone path from the south which continued through the village, dividing it into two parts known as Shang-sai and Hsia-sai, by a stone path from the east, or at various points between the houses on the north. Shang-sai and Hsia-sai mean Upper Stockade and Lower Stockade. The general impression was of a village open to the pond on the west and protected on other sides by trees, bamboo thickets, and higher land, with fields beyond.

I append a sketch map of the valley (fig. 4), and one of the village (fig. 5). In the village there were some sixty-odd buildings, of which but three were used for residence only. Thirty-three were divided into living rooms and stable or pig-sty, two into stable and kitchen. There were fourteen separate stables or pig-sties and nine granaries. There were also three shrines to the local deity — T'u Ti Miao — one beside the entrance to the village on the west, one where the stone path left the highway on the south (this was the chief one), and one where it left the village on the north. The "old house" of the chief family of the village was the only one which had a court with a gateway into it. This "heavenly well" was surrounded by (1) a small building of which the gateway was part and

[1] *Feng shui* (literally, "wind" and "water"). The geomantic system of the Chinese, by means of which favorable sites are determined for graves, houses,

[12a]

which housed the wooden grain-cleaning machine, with the sleeping room of the grown daughter above, (2) the five-*chien* building containing living rooms and a stable for cows, (3) a pig-sty, and (4) a five-*chien* building containing kitchen and stables for water buffalo and ponies. A granary stood to the north of this with the cesspool beyond.

This map is of March 1, 1941. In the three years following changes were made. House 6 and granary west of House 24 were demolished. A part of House 8 was taken off and with the material the widow and her daughter put up a tiny building to the north of the court, consisting of one room roofed with planks set on somewhat haphazard and a still smaller one roofed with tile. The porch west of House 16 had a shack added to it and the family in House 14 kept a cow in it. The pig pen before House 31 was removed. The framework of a building to be erected south of House 7 blew down in a gale and was never set up again. The whole of House 3 was made into a stable, and the stable which had faced it was turned to face west and used as a house. Two new houses, one with mud walls and thatch roof, one with interwoven straw walls and thatch roof, were built beyond the extreme southeast of the village.

The space between houses and other buildings was occupied by house foundations used as threshing floors (fig. 13 *b-e*), stone courts, gardens, and stone paths, of which two followed a winding way from the pond to a stone highway east of the village and one was that which divided the village into two parts, Shang-sai and Hsia-sai.

Population. January 21, 1941, there were one hundred eighty-seven persons in the village. The total population did not vary much during the three years following, but there was a continual shifting due to births and deaths and moving back and forth between villages. When I returned to the village in February, 1942, the family in House 16 had

and other buildings. These sites are said to have an influence on the people.

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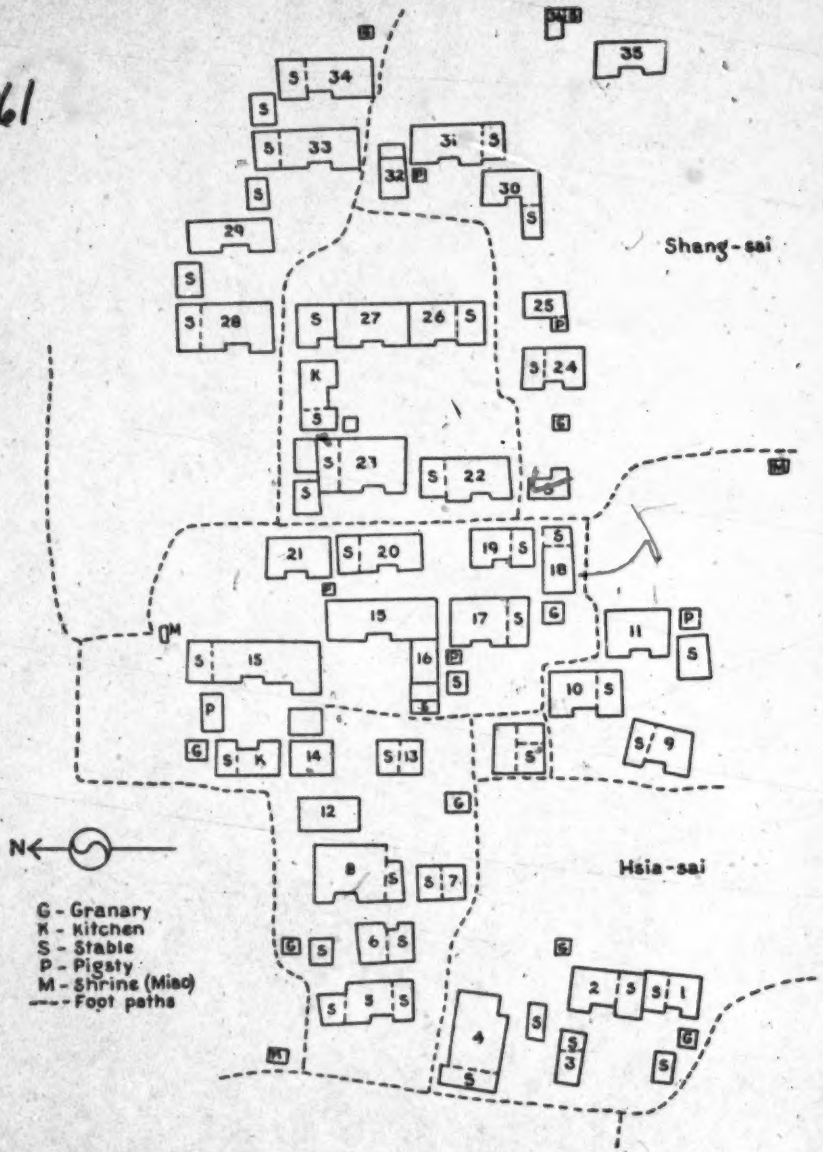

FIG. 5. Sketch map of the village of Yang-chia-sai (as of March 1, 1941).

361

POPULATION BY HOUSES AS OF FEBRUARY 1, 1941

House Number	Occupants, with ages
1	Grandmother (82); grandson (33), his wife (28), boy (1), girl (6); second grandson (30)
2	Widow (57), sons (20, 18, 13) daughters (15, 7)
3	Woman with absent husband (31), son (4)
4	Grandfather (64); married son (33), wife (38), son (1), daughters (3, 2)
5	Grandfather (72); married son (45), wife (47), daughter (6)
6	Man (28), wife (28), daughter (1)
7	Grandmother (55); son (30), wife (30), son (1); son (17)
8	Man (48), wife (47), daughters (20, 6)
	Widow (49), son (9), daughter (17)
9	Grandfather (64), wife (65); married son (33), wife (37), son (12), daughters (15, 3, 2)
10	Widower (43), sons (12, 4) daughter (9)
11	Grandmother (66); married son (33), wife (33), sons (11, 1) daughter (8); second son (29)
12	Grandmother (75); son (58), wife (43), daughter (19)
13	Grandfather (65); son (35), wife (36), son (3)
14	Widow (52), son (20)
15	Grandfather (68), two wives (70, 45); married son (28), wife (27), son (1); daughters (17, 8)
	Nephew (41), two wives (40, 38), sons (14, 9, 8, 12, 1)
	Nephew (33), wife (25), son (3), daughters (10, 6, 1)
	Nephew (33), wife (34)
16	Grandfather (53), two wives (57, 33); son (33), his wife (32), daughter (1); son (3), daughter (1)
17	Man (37), wife (32), daughter (8)
18	Widow (52), son (25), daughter (18)
19	Man (46), wife (47), sons (14, 7), daughter (11)
20	Man (31), wife (25), daughter (1)
21	Man (49), wife (44), daughters (16, 2)
22	Grandparents (70, 60); son (45), wife (40), sons (3, 1)
	Man (60), wife (64), son (28), daughter (16)
23	Man (50), wife (48), daughter (16), sons (12, 7 4)
24	Widow (60)
25	Man (34), wife (35), son (3)
26	Man (34), wife (38), sons (6, 4), daughter (1)
27	Grandparents (60, 59); married son (35), his wife (32), sons (5, 3), daughter (1); son (18), daughter (15)
28	Grandparents (74, 74); married son (43), wife (43), sons (10, 9, 5, 2), daughter (1)
29	Man (56), wife (60)
30	Man (35), wife (34), son (3)
31	Grandparents (56, 59); son (28), wife (25) wife pregnant
32	Man (37), wife (35), son (10), daughters (5, 2)
33	Grandparents (63, 63); married son (25), wife (25), son (4), daughter (6); son (19), daughter (18)
34	Grandmother (60); widowed son (26), daughter (2); son (18)

[15a]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

361 A younger brother of the widower in House 10, with his wife, son, and daughter, moved into the southern part of the house but later built the new house with mud walls. The part of the house in which they had lived then became a stable, as originally intended. A new family, related to that in House 32, and consisting of a man, his wife and two sons, aged three and one, built the other new house. An elderly woman, a relative, came to live

4;Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

• 361 with the family in House 14 and a family with a baby with the widow in House 24. Before her baby was born the wife of the young man in House 31 joined him. When the young man and his wife in House 16 moved back they brought a boy of twelve with them, but he later returned to his own home. The third nephew in House 15 and his wife moved away, and a boy of sixteen, relative of the old man's first wife, took his place. During

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS (see fig. 6)

Age	Male		Female		Total	
1	6		7		13	
2	1		7		8	
3	9		3		12	
4	5		0		5	
5	3	24	2	19	5	43
6	1		6		7	
7	2		1		3	
8	0		2		2	
9	3		0		3	
10	2	8	1	10	3	18
11	1		1		2	
12	4		0		4	
13	1		0		1	
14	2		0		2	
15	0	8	2	3	2	11
16	0		3		3	
17	1		2		3	
18	3		2		5	
19	1		1		2	
20	2	7	1	9	3	16
21	0		0		0	
22	0		0		0	
23	1		0		1	
24	0		0		0	
25	2	3	3	3	5	6
26	0		0		0	
27	0		1		1	
28	4		2		6	
29	1		0		1	
30	2	7	1	4	3	11
31	1		1		2	
32	0		3		3	
33	4		2		6	
34	2		2		4	
35	6	13	2	10	8	23
36	0		1		1	
37	2		1		3	
38	0		3		3	
39	0		0		0	
40	0	2	2	7	2	9
41	1		0		1	
42	0		0		0	
43	1		2		3	
44	0		1		1	
45	3	5	1	4	4	9

the busy season a boy of about the same age from Lung-li came to work there, too, and

FIG. 6. Population by age groups in the village of Yang-chia-sai.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

361 then returned to Lung-li. Daughters-in-law often came to visit and married girls from this village went to their husbands' homes for visits. The T'ang family in House 7, who had been working for the people in House 15, moved away and the family from House 6 moved into the house vacated.

596 621 **Types of Family and Interrelationship.** With the exception of a Chinese family by the name of Liu in House 4, who said that they were the original inhabitants of the village site, a family by the name of T'ang, who lived in House 7, and the boys I have mentioned, all the people of the village had the surname Yang (楊) and were more or less closely interrelated. A father and mother

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

brother and his family alone in the Hsia-sai house. Fourteen households consisted of a man, his wife, and children; four of a widow or widower with children; one of an old man and his wife; one of a woman whose husband was away, and her small son. One elderly widow lived alone for a time and one single man lived with his brother's family. 596

Sons were more desired than daughters, but parents were genuinely fond of their girls and appreciated the fact that they were of considerable help while still at home. After they were married they lived at home until pregnant, and after they lived permanently in the husband's home, they still came to visit at the festival of the fifteenth of the first lunar month and other special times. During the slack season women were often invited to villages in which they had relatives to "drink wine." This was sometimes in the village from which they had come, and the opportunity to visit with old friends and relatives was very welcome. 562

The one Chinese family in the village was comparatively poor, as most Chinese who lived among the Miao were, in spite of the fact that they said they were the original owners of the site. Their children played with the Miao children and there were other social contacts, but on the whole they kept their own customs and were never more than onlookers at such times as weddings, funerals, and special feasts. Once the woman asked a Miao woman visitor to tell her fortune with a bowl of rice. 563

An examination of the grave sites belonging to the village indicated that there had been at least five generations, including the youngest one then living, in this place. The family in which I lived had come from Yang-niu-ts'un in Kuei-ting Hsien during the lifetime of the oldest member. One of the graves on the same mound as that where the old lady from House 1 was buried was that of the mother of a man buried in another place to the south of the bullfight meadow. Two others side by side were those of his grandfather and grandmother. 764

During the time I spent in Yang-chia-tsai I made two visits to Yang-niu-ts'un. This was half a day's journey over the mountains to the southeast and in a valley containing five 361

361 villages, all of Cowrie Shell Miao, on the slopes, with their fields on other slopes and 563 on the valley floor below. In fact, in the 463 whole *lien pao* of Teh-hua there was just one small group of Chinese of one surname, Ch'u, who lived in the mountains and were iron- 596 workers. There I learned that the family in which I lived in Yang-chia-sai had migrated from this village of Yang-niu-ts'un. A younger brother and his family were living in the old home, a fine house with three walls of large, gray brick, and the widowed sister-in-law in one of the other villages. Of these five villages three contained families by the name of Yang (楊) with single families of other surnames, one was of the Lo (羅) family, and one of the Wang (汪) family. They had 764 intermarried, as I found out when an old man in the Lo family village, Lo-ying, died. At that time the tripod was set up in Yang-niu-ts'un before the house in which lived a woman from the Lo family. For this old man they danced for two nights and the funeral lasted four days. I noticed here a difference between the funerals for men and for women; for the women two charges of gunpowder were set off at a time, for the men three.

361 The valley was a very lovely one with a great many wooded slopes. Well up on one 342 of these was set the village of Yang-niu-ts'un. Some of the fields were also on the mountain sides, but most of them on the floor of the valley below through which flowed a stream, watered by rivulets from the hillsides. The school and *lien pao* office occupied a new building at the gate of the village. There were other new buildings in the village, too, and foundations with beaten floors filled in and used as threshing floors. Local men were doing the carpentering on one, including the making of wooden water casks, troughs, etc. This was in front of the house belonging to the Wang family, evidently a well-to-do one. 342 Their house was of three storeys with kitchen, stables, and pig-sty on the lowest level, entered by a flight of stone steps. Usually one entered the living rooms from the second level, but there was also a ladder from the stable and kitchen. On the new house I

224 Many of the Miao are skilled hunters and they
411 will track animals with a keenness similar to that of an American Red Indian. The wild boar is hunted on foot, and when he charges is knifed with consummate dexterity. The deer is surrounded and chased from point to point until it is exhausted, the dogs entering with zest into the hunt. Pheasants are decoyed, and animals shot with a cross-bow and arrows. Sometimes the arrows are poisoned with a product derived from deadly nightshade.

415 The arts of Miao life are few, their implements for daily use being copied from the Chinese. For
• 361 mutual protection they live in hamlets or villages,
342 and their houses are mud built and thatched with grass.

342 Let us go into one of these—it is not without
231 interest. You will notice there are two rooms. In the inner room a cow, a few goats and sheep
281 and perhaps a pig are stabled. The cow is needed for ploughing, and the manure for their somewhat barren farm land. From the sheep's wool, capes and sleeping-rugs are woven. Skins from the goats serve as winter jackets for the older men. Morning and evening these cattle pass through the living-room to and from their grazing-grounds.

342 The living-room is a most extraordinary apartment, since it serves as kitchen, dining-room, guest chamber and, when night comes, as bedroom.
354 In the centre of the earthen floor a coal or wood fire burns, and if the wood be damp your eyes will smart and sting, since the only outlet for the smoke
352 is the door or the roof. Near the fire are a few

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

There can be no doubt that the earlier of these immigrants were from the province of Kiangsi, and some of them at least were compelled to colonise Kweichow much against their will. Most of the Chinese now in the province would claim Kiangsi as the old home of their family. But in recent years, we do not venture to say for how many, the immigrants have nearly all been from the provinces of Hunan and Szechwan, and mostly from Szechwan. Since we first entered the province thirty years ago there has been a constant stream of people, sometimes rising and falling, flowing into Kweichow from the populous province of Szechwan.

The language spoken by the Chinese of Kweichow is good Mandarin, more like the dialect of Peking than that of Nanking, and much better mandarin than that spoken in many parts of Hunan. As one might expect, it is most like the Chinese spoken in Szechwan, and a man from Kweichow would be easily understood in north and central China where the Mandarin dialect is spoken.

The non-Chinese are nearly all of them cultivators of the soil, and live, as a rule, not on the land they cultivate, but, for the sake of mutual protection, in hamlets and villages.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

361 These villages are sometimes surrounded by a wall, and sometimes by a stockade of plaited bamboos, but most of them have no sort of
443 protection. On market-days, which are held generally once in six days, the market-places are crowded by the men and women of different tribes, which, by reason of the varied and picturesque costumes of the women, present an animated and interesting spectacle. These markets or fairs are mostly held in the towns and villages, but some of them are held in out-of-the-way places where no houses are to be seen. Here the people sell their live-stock and farm produce, and buy such necessaries as they cannot produce or make for themselves. At some of the markets we have visited, the tribes-people outnumber the Chinese by ten to one, but in some places it is the other way about.

563 The non-Chinese of Kweichow are the *Lao* or *Keh-lao*, the *Miao-chia*, the *Chung-chia*, and the *I-chia*. And here let us explain for the reader who does not understand Chinese, that the word *chia*, so often occurring in the names of various tribes, means "family" or "tribe."
563 Thus *Miao-chia* means the "Miao tribe" or
101 "tribes." We have heard people speak, and have met writers, who mention the Miao as *Miao tsï*. That is a Chinese contemptuous way

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

available but this is only for about half the year. Eggs are eaten or / on special occasions.[5] 262

The Ch'uan Miao are an agricultural people. They are all sons of the soil and get their living from the soil. Even those who are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, hunters, priests or shamans have farms, sometimes owned but generally rented, and they depend primarily on farming for a living. Sometimes there are houses that are only a few rods apart but I have not seen or heard of a single Ch'uan Miao village or a locality that could boast of a single street. 241 [361]

In former days when land was plentiful and forests were abundant, a man often got his farm by cutting down the trees in a forest and later, when the wood was dry, burning off the trees and grass. This, of course, le[f] a rich virgin soil. After a few years the land became l[ess] productive and the owner deserted it and made anoth[er] clearing. Later the deserted land could again be used profitably. There are no longer such unclaimed virgin forests so that the Ch'uan Miao are obliged to keep their farms productive by means of fertilization.

The domestic animals and fowl are cattle, horses, water-buffalo, mules, donkeys, sheep, goats, dogs, cats, chickens, ducks and geese. Horses are not used for plowing but as riding and pack animals. Water-buffalo are generally used for plowing and harrowing in the rice fields while cattle are used in the dry fields and gardens. Mules and donkeys are less common than horses. There are many sheep in Yunnan Province but few in Szechwan where goats are more common. Every family has at least one watch-dog and there is a special breed of hunting-dogs. Cats are kept in families that are not too poor to afford them. Chickens are found in nearly every home but ducks and geese are less common. There are fewer water-buffalo and more horses and cattle among the Ch'uan Miao in Yunnan than in Szechwan. Cattle, horses, mules, donkeys, sheep or goats, pigs and water-buffalo are kept in barns that are near houses or are actually parts of the houses. Cats, dogs and chickens sleep inside the houses where they roam about unrestrained. 231 [224]

The farming implements do not differ from those of the Chinese. The same plows, harrows, hoes or mattocks, sickles, flails, and so on are used. The plow consists of a naturally crooked tree to which are attached an iron point and a wooden 241 4121

5. R. G. Agnew investigated the diet of the Ch'uan Miao near Lo Piao and found that malnutrition was quite noticeable in most families and is a fundamental cause of the high death-rate, especially of children. He recommended that eggs be eaten for phosphorus and albumen, milk for minerals and vitamins, fruit for vitamin C and soya beans and vegetables for minerals and vitamins.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?)1954 AE5 Miao AE5

SONGS AND STORIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO

By David Crockett Graham

(With 24 Plates)

I. INTRODUCTION

THE PEOPLE

101 The Ch'uan Miao are an ethnic group living on the borders of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan Provinces, western China. The country is very mountainous with numerous peaks rising 3,000 to 6,000 feet above sea level. There are many streams, forests, waterfalls, perpendicular or overhanging cliffs, natural caves and natural bridges, and deep holes or pits where the water disappears into the bowels of the earth. While the roads between the Chinese towns and villages are [49] generally paved with stones, most of the roads are narrow footpaths up and down the steep mountainsides or through fields and forests.

[161] It is estimated that the number of Ch'uan Miao people is about 150,000. In Szechwan Province, they are found as far north as Kung Hsien 珙縣 and Ch'ang Ning 長寧 and about 100 li east of Yung Ning 永寧. They extend a short distance into the northeastern tip of Kweichow, south in Yunnan as far as Ta Kuan 大關 and below Cheng Hsiung, and a short distance westward toward Hsü [361] Kiang 敍江. They do not live in villages, towns, or cities but are interspersed among a much larger population of Chinese who live in the towns and cities and in many of the farmhouses.

[145] These people resemble the Chinese in having light, olive-brown skin and little hair on their faces and bodies but differ from the Chinese in West China by being slightly shorter in stature and having a slightly less evident epicanthic fold to the eyes. There are greater physical differences between the Ch'uan Miao and the Lolos and Tibetans than between the Ch'uan Miao and the Chinese. A comparison of the languages and dialects and the social and religious customs makes it evident that the Ch'uan Miao are a branch of the Miao-yao group of the Mon-Khmer family.[1]

The word Ch'uan means river. It is apparently an abbreviation of the word Szechwan, which means four rivers, for Szechwan is the province of four rivers. The Szechwan people are called Ch'uan Jen 川人, and the Szechwan soldiers are called Ch'uan ping 川兵. It is evident that these people are called Ch'uan Miao because many of them live in Szechwan.

The word Miao means sons of the soil. It is written in Chinese with the grass character above the character meaning field. The name has often been indiscriminately applied to non-Chinese groups in China.

[1] Clarke, S. R., Among the tribes of Southwest China, pp. 307-315. Morgan and Scott, London, 1911; Davies, H. R., Yunnan, pp. 331-347. Cambridge University Press, 1909.

[6 cont.]

291 Miao-I women wear short upper garments without trousers, the lower part of the body being envoloped in a long skirt. Only the Hē Miao women in the east are fond of wearing short skirts above the knee. All the Miao women are highly conscious of [294] beauty; they plan their clothes carefully and spend most of their time on weaving, designing, and embroidery. However, their everyday clothes are simple. It is only on occasions such as weddings, funerals, dances, festivals, fairs, and religious celebrations [7] that they sport their new clothes and silver ornaments in all styles and colors to attract attention. [301]

3) Lodging. Most of the Miao-I tribes live clustered in 361 hamlets in the mountains, except the Chung-chia and the Sui-chia among the I, who live near water, hence the names "Kao-shan Miao" [high mountain Miao] and "Shui-Chung-chia" [water Chung-chia]. It is said that the Miao-I must live in the high mountains in order to thrive and that if they live at the bottom of the mountains, they would suffer disaster and death. But, today, the Miao-I have gradually learned to live [on the plains] and well-to-do farmers who have moved downhill are increasing in number. Although they cannot avoid pestilence, their suffering is not necessarily more than those living uphill. Most of the Miao-I follow the traditions of their ancestors and live precariously on the cliffs in backward conditions. Their 342 living quarters are generally on one level, but some of the Miao-I in the southeast also build storied houses. In houses of [231] one level men and beasts share the floor, but in the storied houses, men live upstairs and beasts downstairs. An ordinary house has one to three rooms; in the latter case, the rooms are small. If there is only one room, then it is used for cooking, eating, sleeping, and all other purposes. The construction of the houses is rather crude. Except those of a few wealthy families, which are enclosed with wooden or brick walls and covered with mud, tile or slate roofs, an average house is built of bamboo or corn stalks with tree barks as walls and straw for a roof. They are often slanting and dilapidated. Worse still, some of the poorest Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao still live today in mountain caves in conditions as wretched as those in the inferno.

131 [131 cont.]
101 Hsia-chiang are also known as Kao-p'o Miao. There are quite a
[184] few differences in language, costumes and customs between them, but in racial affinity they are the same as the Hê Miao. The area distribution of the Hê Miao in Kweichow is rather extensive, and the hsien districts in the southeastern part of the province all have traces of the Hê Miao. Under the general name of Hê Miao, there are a number of sub-divisions, which, according to the writer's findings, include the Chang-ch'ün Miao, the Tuan-ch'ün Miao, the Hua-i Miao, the Kao-p'o Miao, the Hê-i Miao, the Lao-hê Miao, the Pa-chai Miao, the Shan Miao and the Sheng Miao. The Sheng Miao at Hsia-chiang are the most backward and primitive among the Hê Miao.

Hsia-chiang is the farthest hsien district in Kweichow on
131 the border of Kwangsi province. The hsien recently has been
133 divided into three administrative areas, the third area being the concentration point of the Sheng Miao. [132] It is surrounded by a river of one hundred li, forming a natural barrier with the other areas. This river is called by the Sheng Miao "wu-niu," meaning a river belonging to the Sheng Miao. As the Sheng Miao within the third area never mix with the other groups and have always been an independent community, so the Chinese call the third district the Sheng Miao area. It consists of a long and broad strip of territory in the western half of Hsia-chiang, surrounded by high mountain cliffs and huge bamboo groves, forming a continuous and impassable barrier with only two entrances at Tsai-pien and Tung-lang, both narrow paths like sheep intestines. The backwardness of their civilization is due to such geographical isolation and their living conditions cannot be other than primitive.

The area of the Sheng Miao, according to their exaggerated account, extends to 9,000 li, but actually the area is about 200 [sq.] li in length and width. It is a mountainous area, the highest peak at Teng-k'ung-ming-t'ang being 2,000 meters, and the total population about 10,000. The writer has visited altogether
●361 101 Sheng Miao villages of all sizes, the largest being Chia-lu, Chia-mien, Chia-ya, Chia-lung, Chia-wêng, Cheng-yu, Tang-wêng and Chüeh-ts'ai-p'ing, with about 100 families in each.

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM 1 Indochina
Miao AE5

249 But this family[1] was in its workaday clothes, as its head was very anxious to explain to Dupont. They had been away a week, working in their opium-poppy fields, and now they were on their way home for a flying visit. Dupont asked about a dog, and the head of the family invited us to come up and see for ourselves, as he had no idea who was home and who wasn't.

311 361 It was a long, slow climb up to the village, although the Meos, as they skipped along by our side, seemed in no way to notice the slope, nor their huge burdens. The coarse grass — usual legacy of Meo occupation — was replaced here by a noxious thorny scrub. For miles, in all directions from the village, nothing would grow but this ultimate of austere vegetations. This village was at the last stage before it would have to be moved. The fields under cultivation were now so far away that the villagers lived dispersed in temporary shelters where they worked. Very soon they would be too far from the village to return at all and it would be moved, ten or fifteen miles, always south; leaving behind the prairie grass and scrub. It only wanted the Mans to arrive here from Tonkin — the Mans cultivate on Meo lines between 1000 and 3000 feet — to reproduce eventually in Laos the denuded wilderness of southern China.

342 181 The Meo village consisted of nothing but a few most decrepit hovels. They were the lowest and the most barbarous examples of human dwellings that it would be possible to find. Why should the Meos be the most elegantly dressed and the worst housed people in the country? They are superb at the few handicrafts they undertake, but they just can't be bothered about how they are sheltered or how they sleep. There is no compulsion; no household genie — like those of the Mois — demanding high standards of order and cleanliness in the house; no canons of taste and refinement spreading slowly downwards from an idly exquisite aristocracy, since all Meos are kept hard at work; no spirit of bourgeois emulation, since this is total democracy, with no betters to imitate. The Meos have only themselves to please, and the result is anarchy.

In the hovel we were taken to, the contents of a thousand school-

[1] [i.e., a Meo family. -- Analyst]

Yao AE6
Miao AE5
Y
105

is genuinely Man from that which stems from a foreign influence, and to adopt the most legitimate and most comprehensive of the numerous systems of classification which seem to be possible.

The Man are not at all well known outside of northern Tonkin. To the south of the Red River which they crossed long ago, we must find the exact limits of their habitat in southern Tonkin and the north of Burma, Laos and Annam. It would seem that some have even advanced south of Thanh Hoá into Nghệ An. But it is by the ethnographic study of southern China -- the mountains of Yunnan, Kouang Si and Kouang Toung -- that we shall best come to grips with the problem of their origin.

/230/ In any case, the Man of Thanh Hoá have not yet manifested any tendency to settle down. Those of Ngọc Điện were already seeking new hills to clear and told me, at the beginning of 1925, that they were going to leave Núi Hao permanently in three or four years, therefore in 1928 or 1929. They did not yet know where they would go. Ever determined to "till with fire and sow with the lance" (1), in sight

1. Charter of the Man (Bonifacy,(44), 1908, II, p. 43).

of the vast Annamese plain into which they never descend and above the Mu'ò'ng and Thai rice fields all glistening with water, they seem destined to retain their originality for a long time to come.

The Mèo

Mi
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They live far behind the Man, on the high slopes of Phú Nghi, a mountain massif situated on the border of Hua Phan between the Sông Mã and the Sông Lu'o'ng which is built of crystalline schists, granite and more recent volcanic rock, and whose crests attain an altitude of about 1,200 meters (Fig. 12).

/231/ I found their leader at Hồi Xuân, a strange little man with black, restless eyes and a large aquiline nose. We went up the valley of the Sông Mã together at the end of January 1925. He was an inveterate opium smoker; when we halted he spent the night stretched out on a mat in the house next to mine, smoking the drug. After a four days' march, a gleam of joy lit up his usually impassive thin visage, and with outstretched arm he showed me a peak which had just appeared

Mi
361

around a bend in the path and which was shrouded in a grayish mist by the heat of the sun, already high in the heavens. It was Phú Nghi, his mountain. When we had crossed the Sông Mã opposite M. Lat on the morning of the fifth day, we had to go up the Hôn Pong, a small tributary coming from the right. Then after B. Ca, the last Thai hamlet, there was a difficult climb over a poorly marked path on the sheer sides of Phú Nghi and through a sparse woods where bamboo chiefly predominated but gradually gave way to yellow thatch grass. Bits of forest remained here and there, and the regular outlines of clumps of wild banana trees, which covered large felled trunks with their outspread leaves, emphasized the great number of extremely recent rẫy. Sometimes we passed by a field of opium where, amidst the stubble of maize harvested the previous autumn, the precious plant provided the new spectacle of its milky-green leaves with fine indentations, its mauve and white flowers, and its growing capsules which would be cut from March on. At about 800 meters the slopes leveled off a bit between the heads of ravines which intersected them at regular intervals. The Mẻo had perched their nests between 800 and 1,000 meters.

Whereas the Man of the province are divided into three islands separated by zones of Thai or Mu'ồ'ng habitation, the Meo population forms a coherent block. However, their houses are much more scattered than those of the Man. Thirty were counted for me, 20 on the territory of the canton of M. Lat, five on that of Quang Chiều, five on that of Hữ'u Thủy. Sometimes they stand all by themselves, like that of the leader, who also had me visit a hamlet containing three families (Plate XIV, B) about one kilometer from his own dwelling, assuring me that it was the /232/ largest agglomeration in his commune. Indeed the Meo, who /Fig. 22 appears here in the original text. / used to belong to the surrounding Thai villages, have been united /233/ since 1912 into a distinct commune, the leader of which is directly responsible to the sub-head of the canton of M. Lat.

Mi
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In contrast to the Man house, the Meo house is built entirely on ground level (Fig. 22), on a ledge excavated into the hillside. In this province the walls are of poorly-joined crushed bamboo, and in winter the cold night air penetrates inside through /Fig. 23 appears here in the original text. / large gaps, especially through the two gable ends which are wide open under the thatched roof. About two meters high up to where the roof begins, the house stretches out

[150 cont.]

167 175 At the time of the first of these invasions, several thousands of "Meo," marching in a fighting body, devastated everything on their passage through southern Yunnan and made their way as far as Annamese territory (region of Dong-Van), whence they violently ejected the "Thai" and "Nan" groupings who were settled there.

The second invasion, that of 1860, of which the memory is still living in the hearts of many of the "Thai," was still more widespread than the preceding one and pushed far forward into the Annamese territories from Dong-Van and Quan-Ba as far as the neighborhood of Phu-Yen-Binh, after defeating the Annamese troops which attempted to stop it, and after spreading terror abroad by nameless atrocities.

This invasion was stemmed by troops which came from the Delta and were supported by numerous elephants. The latter threw [361] panic into the ranks of the "Méo," who sought refuge in the high mountains, where they are still established.

175 As has been said above, the "Méo" came to Tonkin long after the "Thai" and the "Man." They have carried on with the latter groups numerous local fights for the possession of farming areas, struggles sometimes very violent and prolonged.

147 361 175 Stronger and more energetic than their adversaries, they would perhaps have succeeded in chasing them completely from Upper Tonkin if they had been able to acclimate themselves to the low altitudes. But we have already seen in Chapter I that the "Méo" are unable to live in the low valleys and that their habitat is found to be confined to heights superior to 900 or 1,000 meters. Thanks to this physiological characteristic, "Thai" and "Man" have been able to re-enter into possession of the lands of which they had been momentarily ravished, and thus the existing echelonment of the various groups by successive altitudes was established: "Méo" in the high mountains; "Man" at the middle altitudes; "Thai" in the plains and the low, irrigated valleys.

101 According to a number of educated "Méo" or Chinese of the region of Muongkhuong, with whom we have had very frequent conversations, the "Méo" form more than fifty different tribes, but they are represented in Tonkin only by certain members of these tribes:

[150 cont.]

101 White Meo ("Peu-Méo")
Black Meo ("Heu-Méo")
Red Meo ("Hong-Méo")
Meo of the flowers ("Hoa-Méo")
"Méo-moung-cha"

[151] These various tribes have characters, mores, and dialects only very slightly different. They are melting little by little [184] into one another and scarcely differ except in the details of feminine costume. Hence, we shall not study them separately, as we have done for the tribes of the preceding groups, and we shall restrict ourselves to pointing out in passing the peculiarities of each of them.

The "Méo" men are generally of medium or small stature, 142 robust, hardy, with strong legs, developed by the long climbs in the [147] mountains and the carrying of heavy burdens. Some "Méo" are of large stature, but these are not the toughest. The women are smaller than the men. Very sweet and graceful during their youth, they soon become very clumsy and heavy. Their breasts are extremely well [163] developed but deformed by their numerous progeny. The birth rate [165] is very high; the infant mortality, likewise.

The "Méo" have very coarse, very black hair. It is not rare [143] to find among them individuals who are blond or even albino, however.

273 The "Méo," very sober in normal times, seizes every opportunity to become drunk and to make good cheer. He often contracts [164] pulmonary diseases due to his heedlessness and to the bad conditions under which he lives.

147 It is impossible to acclimate him to low altitudes, where he immediately falls sick and rapidly becomes dispirited.

The "Méo" who have established irrigated rice fields have 241 carried out this work along high mountain valleys. Yet they do not 361 live near these planted areas, in spite of the relatively high altitude of the latter. As soon as the daily work is finished, they climb up again to their villages, which always remain located near the summits (see photo 428, Plate 43).

157 The "Méo" is of a gay disposition, very independent, courage- 609 ous, and extremely candid. Very hospitable, he always welcomes

[158 cont.]

231 logs with the floor slightly raised by means of logs laid horizontally
343 on the ground. (Photo 116, Plate 27.) Naturally, this pen for the animals is no more frequently cleaned than is the inside of the house, with the result that the liquid manure and the excrement soon form nauseous seas which it is necessary to cross painfully in order to reach the house.

The "Méo" have excellent little horses (average height — about
231 1.20 meters, like the Chinese or Tonkinese horses) sturdy, sensible, very handy, and very sure-footed. These horses are never groomed, are fed with a little grass (a special grass called "ma-tsao" or horse's grass), with bamboo leaves and a few handfuls of maize. They gen-
[343] erally are tied under a little lean-to resting against the house.

The "Méo-" have a special breed of white dogs, with silky and very thick hair of medium length.

The fowls (hens, guinea hens, ducks, and so on) roam at
[343] liberty around the house during the day and roost at night in a coop
[136] usually located above or near to the stable. The wildcats, which are numerous in the mountains of Upper Tonkin, frequently do frightful slaughter among the "Méo" poultry.

In view of their spirit of independence, the "Méo" most often
361 live off by themselves, in groups of five or six cabins, and only very seldom form sizeable settlements. However, in the region of Pha-Long — Pakha, where the "Méo" group forms the majority of the population, several "Méo" villages exist which number from twenty to thirty cabins. Be that as it may, the "Méo" village is always perched very near to the summits of the mountains, at the foot of the crags; difficult mule-trails with very abrupt slopes permit access to these villages; still the climb on foot is infinitely preferable to the trip on horseback.

("Méo" houses appear in the following photographs: 346, Plate 36; 347, Plate 41; 445, Plate 38; 135, Plate 43. The last three show villages.)

In the hamlets and villages of the "Méo," the houses are built
361 according to the inclination of the occupants, without thought of
364 alignment or of streets, the enclosures for the animals close to the dwelling houses. Despite the open air and the sun which bathe the

[158 cont.]

961 364 "Méo" villages, the hygienic conditions in them are questionable enough, especially during the winter when the temperature frequently drops [159] below freezing. The "Méo" spend the days and the nights of winter squatting or sleeping about the kitchen hearth and neglect to put any extra clothing on when they go outdoors. It is 164 clear that under these conditions the pulmonary maladies which have already been spoken of are extremely frequent and that they cause real havoc among the old people and the young children.

Smallpox frequently rages among the "Méo," but like all primitive people who are not poisoned by the abuse of medicines [147] for generations, they react marvelously to the simplest remedies. In 1911, a serious epidemic of smallpox ravaged a very large vil- [751] lage in the region of Pha-Long, causing five or six deaths daily. All the inhabitants were vaccinated the same day, old and young, healthy persons or those already attacked. From that moment, no further deaths occurred.

Maize is the basic food of the "Méo." It is boiled, steamed, 262 or parched, or reduced to meal in order to be eaten in the form [252] of cakes. The "Méo" also cultivate mountain rice, but like the 243 "Man," they are coming more and more to cultivate permanent irrigated rice fields, the working of which is easier and more remunerative. To this end they have taken over as much as possible of the favorable terrain, valley bottoms or sides of hillocks on which water may be brought by a simple canalization, and have laid out these areas into terraced rice fields where they often successively [249] cultivate rice and opium. (See photos 135 and 428, Plate 43, showing the rice fields after the harvest, and photo 184, Plate 41, which shows a large rice field used for the cultivation of opium, the latter photo taken March 31, 1912.)

Aside from maize and rice, the "Méo" eat buckwheat and many 262 vegetables, which they cook in water with a little salt: potatoes, [252] string beans, peas, beans, cucumbers, turnips, eggplants, pumpkins, and so on. The use of meat (fowl, game, domestic animals) is reserved for ceremonies and banquets, which the "Méo" never miss a chance for. They never eat horseflesh.

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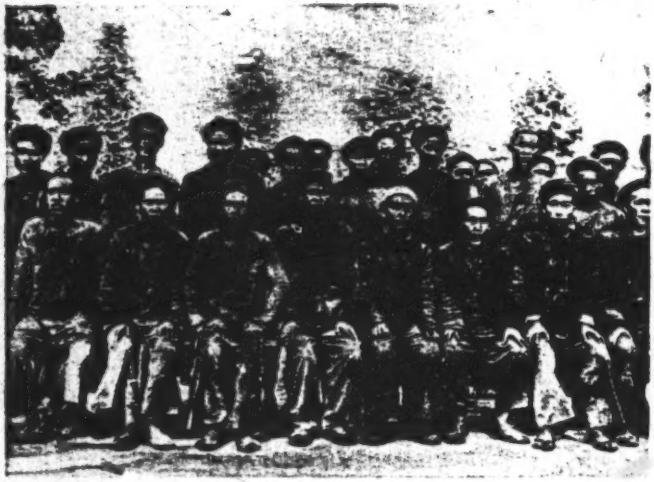

204. Group of "Méo" Notables. "Siao-phay" (Village Chiefs of Region of Pha-Long).

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445. "Méo" Village (Region of Pha-Long).

155: Abadie--242 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

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90. Frontier Post of Pha-Long ("Méo" Country).

347. Ho-to-tchay ("Méo" Village).

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184. Opium Field Cultivated by the "Méo" on the Soil of Irrigated Rice Fields.

467. Dongvan and the "Sacred Wood."

155: Abadie--244 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

[172]

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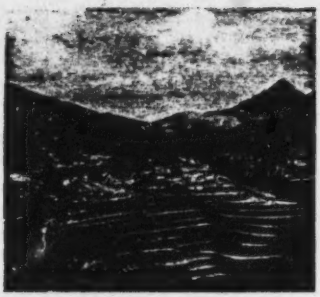

135. "Méo" Village with Terraced Rice Fields.

293. Pha-Long (Country of the "Méo," "Nung," and "Pa-y").

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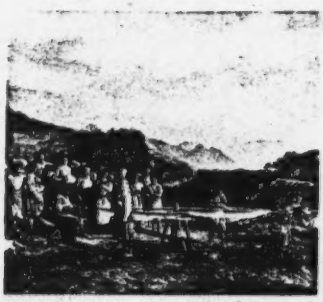
428. Hillsides Laid out in Irrigated Rice Fields by the "Méo" of Pakha.



128. "Méo" Method of Reeling off Hemp.

855 hard toil of the fields. Too thinly clad and fed almost exclusively
857 on maize, they remain exposed to the inclemencies of the seasons, all day long, and spend the night in a house open to every wind. This produces selection proceeding from the disappearance of the weak, but those who resist such a regimen are then able to withstand any sort of hardship.

/Between pages 136 and 137 of the text, the two following photographs appear: "White Meo women"; "Embroidered Meo women."--translator/

591 /137/ When young men of the family marry, if there are sufficient fields to cultivate around the family house, they bring their wife there and live under the authority of the father of the family. If this is not the case, they go and establish themselves in the midst of an area needing to be cleared, and undertake the task courageously.

548 The chastity of Meo women does not seem to be as unassail-
836 able as that of Tho women, and some of them shamelessly engage in prostitution, and do not have to leave their place in the family on this account. When on an inspection tour in Dongvan, I remember that I expressed my astonishment at hearing hands clap each time I passed through certain woods, which surrounded a pagoda near the post. But my astonishment gave place to stupefaction when I learned that the sacred wood was permanently haunted by young Meo girls who accorded their favors to all who came beneath its discreet shade.

[624 The number of houses which make up a hamlet rarely exceeds
361] three or four. Even then the inhabitants usually are of the same stock,
631 and the head of the hamlet is naturally enough the progenitor of the
615 family group. The various hamlets of a small valley or of a little rocky cirque are grouped under the authority of a ma phai, who is properly speaking the chief of the village. Several villages are grouped under the authority of a ping tau, who fills the role of a giap truong or district chief in an Annamese commune, and who is himself assisted in his duties by a tsa thao. Finally, the different districts are joined together to form a tribe under the orders of a tung cha who fills the role of the mayor of a Tho commune, with a still greater
631 authority. This is the type of organization which exists in Dong Quan
609 and surrounding country, when the tribe is of a certain extent. If
563 it is less important, it is headed only by a ping tau or a simple ma phai, who is under the authority of the mayor of the Tho commune

/26 cont./

137 The flora varies according to the fertility of the soil.
134 The forested mountains of Farther India are densely covered with vegetation, whereas the highland of Kweichow is described as a barren open, and hilly land, whose soil composition is such that only one-fifth of the country seems to be suitable for human habitation (1). Kengtung is similar in appearance to

1. Von Eickstedt, V, p. 53.

133 Kweichow. The state lies in the extreme eastern part of Burma and borders on Yunnan in the north, on Thailand in the south; on the west it is bounded by the Salween River, on the east by the Mekong. The province of Kengtung, with its capital of the same name, is a mighty plateau, often bare and rocky, which /27/ rises from altitudes of 300 meters in the area of the Salween to altitudes of 3,000 meters between the Salween and the city of Kengtung.

137 Where the area has been inhabited by mountain tribes for a long time, the lofty forest has disappeared, since the hoe [241] culture with the burning of clearings during the short fallow period prevents the growth of larger trees. The region is therefore completely covered with low, dense bush forest, in which fast-growing types of wood are greatly predominant.

• 361 It is a very peculiar fact that, as was pointed out, the mountain tribes seem to be bound to a definite altitude and cannot be persuaded to go below a certain altitude limit. This fact is often confirmed in the literature. Lajonquière (1), for

1. II, p. 305.

instance, points out that the Meau select the terrain quite high in the mountain massifs at the foot of rocks as places for their hamlets; Abadie (2) likewise reports similarly. We are

2. Page 158.

[101] indebted to Credner (3) for a more detailed account: "Above

/ 27 cont. /

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3. IV, pp. 137, 138.

the level of the forest hoe-culture tribes there is the elevation of the mountain tribes... Having come from the north they stay in areas where the climate corresponds most closely to that of their countries of origin, that is, at altitudes up to 2,600 meters... The Thai tribes stayed in the lowest parts of the country. Their counterparts in the high areas are the migratory mountain tribes, who, as the most recent arrivals from the north, are gradually occupying the settlement-free space in the peaks of the mountains. They are the Tibeto-Burman Lahu and Lisu and the Siamo-Chinese Miao and Yao"(4).

4. Credner, IV, p. 147.

Von Eickstedt (5) writes: "The Chinoisants (among whom

5. VI, p. 54.

he includes the Meau, note by Dr. Bernatzik) are the masters of the mountains and are spreading. The Monkhmer Ka /Mon-Khmer Kha/ live on the wooded slopes, but are shot off by the Chinoisants and pushed aside by the Lao. The latter, in turn, live a few altitude levels lower, preferring the rice fields of the smaller valleys, whereas, finally, the Annamites and Chinese occupy the large troughs of the base centers lying in the lowermost valleys."

361 Savina (6) likewise deals with the habitation areas of the

6. II, pp. 173 ff.

Meau and concomitantly with their reasons for choosing the high altitudes: /28/ "The customary habitation sites of the Meau are the mountains. Only on the heights are they in their element; elsewhere they are rootless and do not feel comfortable." [174] ... "However far one traces the history back into prehistory, one always finds them in the mountains. In the course of time this

½ [ie - "Killed off" - ANALYST]

AKha A04
Miao AE5

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/28 cont./ great migratory tribe has visited almost all the mountains of Asia. Even today one would look in vain for Meau in the plains. The Meau of Kwangsi, of Kweichow, of Szechwan, of Yunnan, of Tonkin, of Laos are all mountain folk."

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The Akha, too, always live in the high parts of the mountains. In addition to the regions named in connection with the Meau, the state of Kengtung should be added as the chief settlement area of the Akha. Telford divides the levels occupied by the various tribes as follows: the Lahu live highest, below them the Lisu, and below them the Akha. "The latter often settle in markedly steep mountain areas, though they prefer mountains of medium height."

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M
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This pronounced preference of the mountain tribes for high settlement areas is very striking.

Under these circumstances it is understandable that the question of the reason for this strange fact has occupied other authors. Savina, for instance, writes (1): "If one asks them

1. II, p. 174.

why they live in the mountains and why they abhor the plains, they give various answers:

'In the mountains it is less hot, humid, and unhealthy.'

'We do not want to descend into the plains because we are afraid of the water, the leeches, and the buffalo.'

'We cannot live in the plains because we were born in the mountains. Transplanted trees never thrive.'

'How can we leave the mountains where the graves of our ancestors are?'

'The inhabitants of the plains are accustomed to the work and the cultivation of the plains, we Meau to the work and the cultivation of the mountains.'

'The people of the plains do not speak our language. How could we understand them?'

'If we were to descend into the plains, our girls would marry people who do not belong to our race.'

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'In the plains there are too many wars, duties, soldiers, and mandarins!'

'If we were to settle down among the people on the plains, they would steal our herds.'

'We do not want to descend into the plains because there we could not cultivate opium and maize or plant fruit trees.'

'The soil of the mountains belongs to the Meau; the soil of the plains does not belong to them'"

Savina states that only one answered: "Because the other tribes do not want us to live in the plains with them." Savina is of the opinion that this is actually the true reason. There can be no doubt, however, that he is mistaken about this.

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In my opinion, the reason lies much deeper. It lies outside the realm of human volition and is based upon the constitutional nature of the mountain tribes. In contrast to the valley peoples, such as the Thai tribes, the Chinese, or the Annamese, the Meau and Akha, and presumably the majority of the tribes occupying this area today and known as "mountain tribes," are not capable of becoming acclimatized to the tropics, as is true, for example, of all the members of the white races. These tribes show an amazingly low resistance in particular to the tropical diseases, above all to malaria. In this connection Abadie's further statement is of special interest: "The Meau came to Tonkin long after the 'Thai' and 'Man.' With the latter they had many local battles over the arable land, which sometimes were long and fierce. Stronger and more energetic than their opponents, they would perhaps have driven them out of Upper-Tonking altogether had they been able to acclimatize themselves to the lower altitudes." In the chapter "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," section on "The Territories of the Mountain Peoples," I shall discuss at some length the extraordinary importance that this lack of ability to acclimatize has for colonial-ethnological affairs.

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Chapter 11

Medicine

515 [364] Hygienic conditions in the Meau villages are very unsatisfactory. The children in particular are literally encrusted with dirt. Even the adults seldom wash themselves. To do so they take some water in the hollow of the hand and put a little over the face or wipe the face with a damp piece of clothing. Since, however, articles of clothing, too, are rarely washed, this procedure is quite ineffective.

[296] Cleaning the body or clothing with anything but water is unknown; neither sand nor fat, oil, smoke, or fire is used. Marabail (1), too, states that the Meau are dirty and that their

1. Pages 463 and 451.

[312] clothing stinks, because they never wash. He accounts for this by saying that water is scarce, but this certainly is not true for Farther India!

People are sometimes covered with crusts of dirt into which perspiration cuts light streaks. Flies and other insects 364 hatch out their eggs in the rubbish heaps. The relatively good 164 health of the people stands in peculiar contrast to this. Child [165] mortality is very high, but it is offset by the high fertility. Anyone who in childhood was able to survive the many epidemics and sicknesses that befall the little ones shows considerable resistance to sickness as an adult.

364 [356] [514] [231] The houses of the Meau are swept, to be sure, but the refuse is thrown beside the dwelling. Pigs and dogs search for their food in the rubbish heaps. /230/ There are no toilets (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction"). The feces of the animals defile the dwellings and village squares and, during the dry season, often form a whole layer which is washed away only by the downpours of the rainy season. Since the Meau [361] villages are built on slopes, the violent showers take care of this needed cleaning very thoroughly. After tropical thunderstorms masses of water stream between the houses, which are protected by ditches, and wash away all the refuse.

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Volume Two

/259/ Chapter 13

Settlement and House Construction

A M 166 361 The Meau as well as the Akha of Thailand are seminomads who change their residence sites every couple of years. They decide on such a move, however, by no means lightheartedly or out of nomadic impulses, as Credner (1) intimates, but rather

1. IV, p. 70.

compelling circumstances induce them to undertake the indescribable labor of moving a village. A M [241] [262] The main reason for it is the exhaustion of the cultivable soil as a result of cultivating clearings without fertilization. Depending on the fertility of the soil, it yields rice, the principal food of the population in northern Thailand, for two to four years. After four to ten years, all the cultivable land in the vicinity of a village is exhausted, and the people must contemplate a move if they do not want to starve. Other important reasons are warlike events and legal insecurity, especially in China, or the imposition of taxes that A M [648] are too high, as in Burma or Indochina (see the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," the section, "Attitude of the Various Colonizers").

M 166 361 [731] [756] [623] [622] The Meau also move their villages if epidemics have broken out or if the shaman predicts a misfortune for the village. Among the Meau the decision to move the village is made by the assembly of all the men of the village capable of bearing arms (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Popular Assembly). In the assembly, the opinion of the chief, as well as that of the shaman, carries great weight. The wish of the two is decisive, not theoretically, but in practice.

/260 cont./

166 If the path forks, the head carefully puts branches over the
484 path, by means of which those following can see the direction in which they must continue.

[201] In general, if there is no compelling reason such as war,
[361] epidemics, crop failure as a result of rice diseases, and the like,
[731] a migration is never farther than a half of at most a full day's march from the old village.

/261/ During the migration one always tries to reach the desired goal by the shortest route. Winding paths are taken only if there are pack animals, and then only as many as are absolutely necessary in order to prevent a breakdown of the animals. Otherwise, it goes straight uphill and then continues along the crest line; upon reaching the end, it goes straight down again, across the valley and usually through a brook, and then again climbs up the next mountain ridge. -- This kind of migra-
[171] tion differs fundamentally from that of the Thai peoples, who always, as far as is in any way possible, follow the brook beds in the valleys and, when that is no longer feasible, cross the mountain by the shortest route, in order to reach the brook bed again on the other side. The manner in which the Meau travel reminds one very much of that of the Lapps and makes European
[481] ideas seem positively ridiculous. They walk very fast and rest
[312] often. In no time a water pipe is carved out of bamboo and makes the rounds, or a stub pipe of wood is lighted (see the chapter "Food and Stimulants"). Water is drunk from every little brook that is reached. Nevertheless they rapidly push onward.

During the migration the intimate association with the natural surrounding is clearly evident. They are constantly look-
[283] ing for useful objects. Whether it be lianas whose fibers will
[285] later be twisted into ropes, or those that, cut into strips, will later serve as plaiting material, in no time they are lopped off, rolled up, and fastened to the packsaddle. A squirrel is killed with a well-aimed shot of the crossbow and stowed away in the
[224] pack bag; perhaps even a muntjac is bagged. The latter rarely happens, however, for, although otherwise they stalk game as soundlessly as wildcats while hunting, on a migration it is as though all the evil spirits were let loose. The shouting, hooting,

39: Bernatzik--358 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
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166 bellowing, and cheering can be heard for miles. Consequently
484 it seldom happens that the advanced guard encounters game,
for the larger animals of the forest have usually taken cover
in plenty of time. During the migration, a playful or childlike
[157] impulse for destruction against the forest is also expressed, which
[824] leads the people to damage plants and trees out of sheer wanton-
ness. For example, I never saw a Meau pass a rubber liana /262/
without cutting the plant with the chopping knife merely for the
pleasure of seeing the juice ooze out.

• 361 For the choice of the settlement site, the altitude is of
133 fundamental significance. One can even say that the settlements
of the Meau are actually limited to certain altitudes. I myself
did not find any Meau village below 1,200 meters in altitude,
and other authors (1), too, are struck by the settlement pattern,

1. Credner, II, p. 138.

limited to certain altitudes, of the various mountain and forest
peoples in Thailand.

361 Within these altitude limits, the Meau carefully seek out
a suitable slope. They never build a village on a level surface,
a saddle, or on the peak of a mountain. They most prefer to
choose a place which lies just below the crest line of a mountain
range.

In territories in which the Meau must reckon with hostile
influences, they lay out their dwelling sites so as to make access
as difficult as possible. Thus, Marabail (2) writes of the Meau

2. Page 133.

of Tonkin: "They choose the steep inclines of the mountains
for their dwellings... They reach these heights by means of
[417] bamboo ladders tied together, which are sometimes three hun-
dred meters long."

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/262 cont./

M 166 484 Concerning the migrations of the Meau in Indochina, Savina (3) reports: "When the Meau move, they burn their

3. II, p. 183.

M [482] houses; others let them fall into ruins. The small children are put into carrying baskets with the chickens and suckling pigs. When everything is ready, the signal for the departure is given, and everybody begins to move without the slightest sign of sentiment or excitement. Nobody turns around in order to cast a last glance at the village. The Meau say: Our home is where the maize grows thickly."

M ● 36 [171] A [361] The villages of the Meau in Thailand have a very small number of houses. These are hamlets which consist of three to ten houses. This is also the size of the villages of the Yau /Yao/. The villages of the Lisu come next with four to twenty houses; the village settlements of the Akha have by far the greatest number of houses -- several hundred.

In the literature (4) there are accounts of Meau villages

4. Savina, II, p. 182.

which are said to contain from 20 to 30 houses. In Thailand I could not find any settlements that large, and Dhuraratsadom (5),

5. Page 153.

too, who /263/ answered a questionnaire on the Meau prepared by the Siam Society, says nothing about such large Meau villages. His observations and my own correspond to Lajonquière"s (1)

1. II, p. 304.

statement: "With their attitude of independence, the Meau prefer not to have their dwellings crowded together... There are only groupings of six, seven, or eight houses around the dwelling of

/263 cont./
361 an influential person. Usually, the houses are distributed over the area singly or in pairs." Abadie (2) reports similarly.

2. Page 158.

The villages of the Meau in Thailand always lie along the upper course of headwater streams and are usually named after them. To make clear my findings concerning the manner of settlement and house construction of the Meau I am reproducing [103] (Ill. 108[1] and Fig. 57) a site plan of the village of Nam Fa (Nam = water, brook, in Thai; Fa = name of the brook).

The village lies on a mountain slope dropping off rather steeply from east to west, which changes into merely a gently sloping plain where a kind of village square has formed. The space in front of the chief's house represents the center of the village. Feasts and dances are held here, the villagers meet here, guests from the neighboring villages stop here. The latter [628] [574] are often several days' journey apart; each village therefore represents a self-sufficient community. Nevertheless, during the dry season, visits are made frequently and with pleasure.

All around the village the large trees are cut; it stands [134] on bare loam which, after a heavy rain, turns into a sticky bog in places where it is not steep enough. Behind the houses [241] [351] there are small fields and gardens with all kinds of tubers and vegetables, sugar cane, gourds, bananas, and poppies. They are not fenced in and look more like the adjacent dense primeval forest than like planned gardens.

312 Every village is connected by a water line with a nearby source. The water of the source stream pouring down a steep incline is conducted to a trough by means of halved bamboo poles which rest upon forked posts about two meters high and whose partitioning walls have been removed (Fig. 58). /264/ /Fig. 57 appears here./ /265/

361 712 We did not come across any fortified villages among the Meau in Thailand. They had neither gates nor fences, nor definite entrance signs. /Fig. 58 appears here./

1/1 [See cat 116, P707- ANALYST]

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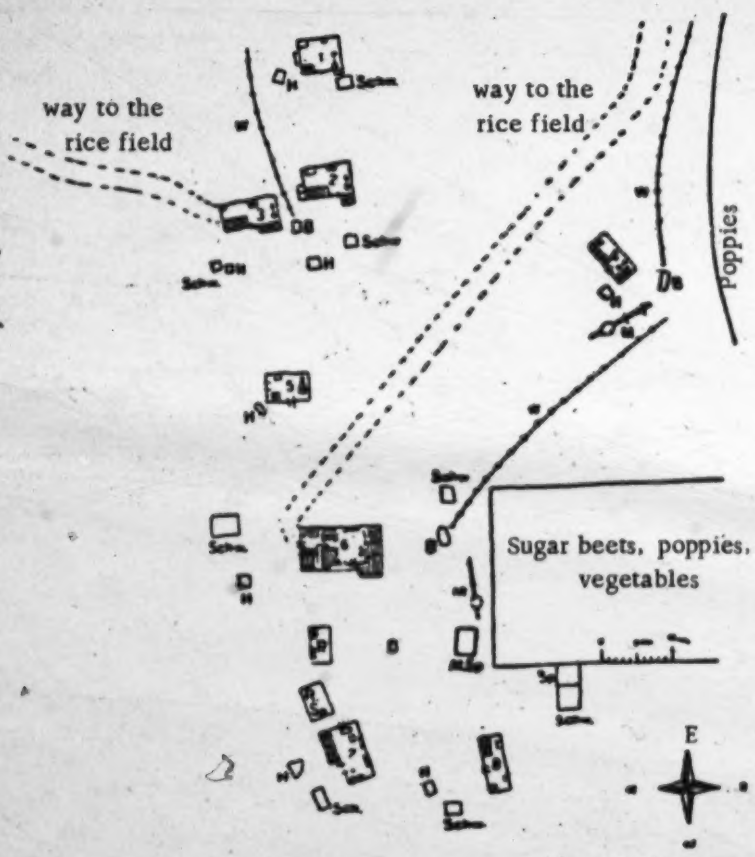

Fig. 57. Plan of the Meau Village Nam Fa.

Key to symbols:

1-8 = Dwellings	B = Wells
▭ = Sleeping places	R = Cattle stable
⊣○ = Rice pounder	M. Sp. = Maize granary
□ = Hearth	R. Sp. = Rice granary
Schw. = Pigpen	M = Rice mill
H = Chicken coop	Sch. = Smithy
W = Water line	D = Village square

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178 time the old men die, the young people no longer know the
243 use of the plow, and so the custom begins to sink into oblivion,
407 even where it could still be used today."

In any case the described tradition of the Meau in Thailand indicates that the plow and its field economy were not subsequently seen and copied from the Chinese or Annamese by the Meau passing through, /354/ but rather had been used in former times. This is also confirmed by the reports of various authors who visited the Meau in Indochina and in their other areas of settlement. The conditions there are different from those in Thailand, and the intensive agriculture of the Meau there forms the economic basis for a much higher standard of living than the members of the same people could have in Thailand. The Meau in Indochina have in large part retained [184] not only the use of the plow, but in many instances they have also succeeded in going over to the cultivation of wet rice and even to terraced fields, which presuppose the use of the plow.

243 Abadie (1), for instance, writes: "The Meau also cultivate
[178] mountain rice, but, like the Man, in increasingly greater proportions they are practicing wet-rice cultivation, which is easier and more productive." The author also shows illustrations of such large-scale fields with wet rice (Illustrations 135 and 428 on Plate 41 of his work) and then continues (p. 151): "The Meau who cultivate irrigated rice fields engage in this work along the high mountain valleys. Though the absolute altitude of these rice fields is relatively high, the Meau do not live near them. The minute the daily work is finished, they again ascend to their villages, which always lie near the summits of the mountains."

● [361]

1. Page 159.

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Chapter 22

Communication

133 487 [137] The mountainous land in northern Thailand, cut up by steep valleys, is covered with dense primeval forest; treeless or stony slopes are rare. This gives the difficult mountain paths, which almost exclusively represent the lines of communication, a different character than we customarily associate with the idea of a mountain path. If one of these paths in northern Thailand [491] leads across a brook, a mighty tree trunk usually forms the only bridge. Other facilities are unknown; there are no suspension bridges or corduroy roads. To be sure, deep streams which, for lack of a bridge, one would have to swim across are also absent. Nor are there streams which would make navigation possible. If the "road" in a valley follows a stream downward, then the bed of the stream is at the same time the path. Regular communication is therefore possible only during the dry season, whereas during the rains, the rising, torrential mountain streams isolate the individual villages.

487 In Indochina the routes of communication built and maintained by the Meau hardly seem to differ from those in Thailand, for Savina (1) writes concerning them: 'Never yet

1. II, p. 181.

has a Meau taken the trouble to make or to improve a path in [461] the forest with a hatchet." According to my experience, however, carelessness or laziness is not the cause of this condition of the lines of communication, as Savina apparently assumes but rather the generally great burden of work of the Meau. Every individual among the Meau in northern Thailand gives the impression of being burdened beyond his physical capacity. [361] Moreover, the Meau live in the smallest of villages; the paths are therefore little used and rapidly become overgrown again.

39: Bernatzik--707 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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/Opposite p. 523/

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Ill. 108. Partial view of the Meau settlement of Nam Fa in the source area of the Nam Wa.

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Ill. 108. Partial view of the Meau settlement of Nam Fa at the end of the rainy season. In the vicinity of the houses there are gardens with fruit trees, behind them secondary forest on deserted fields, and in the background, the typical monsoon forest of Farther India.